

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

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C O N F I D E N T I A L BONN 6140

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GW, US

SUBJECT: PRELIMINARY FRG FONOFF VIEWS ON KISSINGER
SPEECH

REF: BONN 6067

1. IN DISCUSSIONS WITH SEVERAL FRG FONOFF REPRESENTA-
TIVES IN LAST FEW DAYS, WE HAVE GAINED FAIRLY CLEAR IDEA
OF THE POSSIBITION ON THE APRIL 2 SPEECH BY DR. KISSINGER
WHICH THE FONOFF HAS PREPARED FOR CHANCELLOR BRANDT'S
CONSIDERATION IN CONNECTION WITH LATTER'S VISIT TO THE
US.

2. FONOFF HAS APPARENTLY ADVISED THE CHANCELLOR TO
TAKE AN OVERALL POSITIVE VIEW OF THE SPEECH AND MANY
OF THE CONCEPTS IN IT. HE HAS BEEN ASKED TO NOTE THAT
THE SPEECH REFLECTS MANY OF THE CONCERNS THE FRG LEADER-
SHIP ITSELF HAS EXPRESSED IN RECENT YEARS, PARTICULARLY
WITH REGARD TO THE NEED FOR A MORE INTENSIVE DIALOGUE
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BETWEEN THE US AND WESTERN EUROPE. BRANDT HAS ALSO BEEN

ASKED TO POSE SEVERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT THE SPEECH. IN PARTICULAR, THE GERMANS WANT TO KNOW MORE PECISELY WHAT THE ATLANTIC CHARTER CONCEPT MEANS IN PRACTICE. IN THE FONOFF VIEW, THERE IS NEED FOR AN OUTLINE OF MORE OR LESS THE PRECISE STEPS OR MECHANISM TO ARRIVE AT THE CHARTER AND FOR AN IDEA OF THE PROGRAM WHICH WOULD PRESUMABLY FOLLOW FROM THE CHARTER. THE FONOFF HAS ALSO EXPRESSED IN ITS BRIEFING PAPER TO THE CHANCELLOR SOME SKEPTICISM ABOUT THE INCLARE WORKING AGAINST IT. WITHDRAWAL OR REDUCTION OF SOVIET FORCES FROM HUNGARY, SAID PETER, WITHOUT CORRESPONDING REDUCTION OF NATO FORCES IN MEDITERRANEAN AND ITALY WOULD COMPEL HUNGARY TO DIVERT MORE OF ITS OWN RESOURCES TOWARD NATIONAL DEFENSE TO COMPENSATE FOR THE GAP LEFT BY SOVIETS. THIS IN TURN WOULD UNFAVORABLY INFLUENCE THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LIVING STANDARD OF THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE WHICH WOULD HAVE UNDESIRABLE DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES. HERE HE CITED REVOLUTION OF 1956 AS SAMPLE OF WHAT MIGHT HAPPEN IN SUBH A SITUATION. 1956 REVOLUTION, HE SAID, WAS " VERY GREAT TRAGEDY."

4. AT SAME TIME, SAID PETER, THERE SHOULD BE BALANCED REDUCTION OF FORCES FROM HUNGARY ON ONE SIDE AND ITALY-MEDITERRANEAN ON THE OTHER. SAID SOVIET FORCES STATIONED IN EASTERN EUROPE AND US FORCES IN WESTERN EUROPE CANNOT REMAIN VERY MUCH LONGER. BUT HIS IS A COMPLICATED QUESTION WHICH WILL TAKE TIME TO WORK OUT. WITHDRAWALS OF FORCES MUST BE DONE IN SUCH A WAY THAT THEY REDUCE RATHER THAN EXACERBATE TENSIONS.

5. SENATOR CANNON ALLUDED TO PRESSURES IN US SENATE FOR UNILATERAL WITHDRAWAL OF US FORCES FROM EUROPE AND ASKED PETER HIS VIEW OF THIS QUESTION. PETER REPLIED, WE ARE NOT IN FAVOR OF A UNILATERAL WITHDRAWAL OF US FORCES IN EUROPE. WE WANT A BALANCED WITHDRAWAL OF FORCES
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BUT WE MUST MAKE CLEAR WHAT " BALANCED" ACTUALLY MEANS. PETER, OF COURSE, WAS SPEAKING IN CONFIDENCE AND SHOULD NOT BE QUOTED.

6. ASIAN SECURITY: PETER TOLD SENATORS IN HIS RECENT VISIT TO JAPAN HE TOLD HIS HOSTS ABOUT PREPARATORY WORK DONE ON CSCE AND SAID SIMILAR CONSULTATIONS SHOULD BE STARTED IN ASIA. HE SAID THERE SHOULD BE AN ASIAN SECURITY CONFERENCE ALONG LINES OF THE ONE BEING PREPARED IN EUROPE.

7. COMMENT: PETER'S COMMENTS WERE WIDE- RANGING AND REMARKABLY FRANK ON A NUMBER OF ISSUES. IT IS CLEAR THAT MBFR IS EXTREMELY DIFFICULT QUESTION FOR HUNGARIANS.

UNILATERAL WITHDRAWALS WOULD HAVE DESTABLIZING EFFECT THAT MIGHT
DISTURB DOMESTIC EQUILIBRIUM WHICH KADAR REGIME HAS PAINFULLY
STRIVEN TO ACHIEVE. THUS WHILE FAVORING A STEADY EXPANSION OF
DETENTE, POSSIBLY LEADING TO MBFR EVENTUALLY, HUNGARIANS
OPPOSE ANY SUDDEN UNILATERAL MEASURE WHICH WOULD UPSET
APPLE CART.
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